

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 243325

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 26447 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 10 OCT

QTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 26447

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, US, FR, NATO

SUBJ: CSCE, IMPLEMENTATION: FRENCH OFFER OF IN-
FORMAL BILATERAL CONSULTATION

1. SUMMARY: FRENCH APPRECIATE BALANCE AND MODERATION
OF US FOLLOWUP INITIATIVES IN BRUSSELS AND ARE NOW
THEMSELVES CLEARLY TAKING MORE PRAGMATIC VIEW ON
MULTILATERAL COORDINATION. AT SAME TIME QUAI ALSO
WANTS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH US,
IN LINE FLEXIBLE APPROACH WE HAVE SET OUT IN THIS
REGARD. QUAI THEREFORE SUGGESTS REGULAR, BUT VERY
INFORMAL CONTACTS IN PARIS TO EXCHANGE INFO SUPPLE-
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MENTARY WORK GOING ON IN BRUSSELS. END SUMMARY.

2. CONTACTS QUAI OFFICIALS CONCERNED CSCE FOLLOWUP CONFIRM OUR IMPRESSION GOF IS GENERALLY APPRECIATIVE OF MODERATION AND SENSITIVITY US POSITIONS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION PRESENTED IN LAST WSEKS AT NATO. QUAI AGREED FROM OUTSET TO USEFULNESS FOCUSING CBM FOLLOW-UP EFFORTS IN NATO FRAMEWORK. MOREOVER, WE HAVE NOTED WITH INTEREST ABSENCE OF ANY VERY AUDIBLE OBJECTIONS REGARDING SOMEWHAT BROADER EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION EXERCISES NOW BEING DISCUSSED.

3. INDEED, QUAI SEEMS TO US TO BE TAKING GENERALLY LESS DOCTRINAIRE VIEW OF WESTERN FOLLOWUP COORDINATION THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED. SAUVAGNARGUES, SPEAKING TO COUNCIL OF EUROPE'S PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION (STRASBOURG 156) DID REITERATE THAT HELSINKI AGREEMENTS ARE BEST IMPLEMENTED THROUGH BILATERAL CHANNELS. ON OTHER HAND, HE ALSO SAID FRANCE PREPARED EXCHANGE VIEWS THROUGH COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS OF COUNCIL OF EUROPE. SIMILAR FLEXIBILITY WAS REFLECTED IN FRENCH ACCEPTANCE, ALBEIT AKTER SOME RESISTANCE, OF EC-NINE CSCE WORKING GROUP (CURRENTLY MEETING IN ROME), AND IN GENERAL IN THE DEGREE TO WHICH THEY ARE APPARENTLY ADJUSTING TO NATO COORDINATION.

4. THERE MAY BE SEVERAL REASONS FOR THIS MELLOWING. QUAI HAS CLEARLY COME TO REALIZE THAT IT CANNOT MAINTAIN DOCTRINAIRE OPPOSITION TO MULTILATERAL EXCHANGE, AND DISCUSSIONFOLLOWUP WITHOUT ITSELF SEEMING TO HANDICAP IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT (AND PLAYING INTO SOVIET HANDS). SECONDLY, THERE IS GROWING PRACTICAL AWARENESS OF SCOPE AND COMPLEXITY OF FOLLOW-UP ISSUE. QUAI'S APPRECIATION OF ITS OWN NEEDS FOR INFO AND COORDINATION, PARTICULARLY AS IT EMBARKS ON EXECUTION OF FRENCH CSCE BILATERAL TEXTS, HAS THEREFORE GROWN SOMEWHAT. LASTLY IT IS ALSO BECOMING MORE AWARE OF RISKS OF POSSIBLE MISTAKES (I.E., IN CURRENT EXERCISE OF DRAFTING A GISCARD-BREZHNEV CSCE TEXT IN MOSCOW) WHICH COULD EXPOSE GOF TO UNNECESSARY EC-NINE AND NATO CRITICISM. IN SHORT, SO FAR AT

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LEAST, WE NOTE A SLIGHT NEW AIR OF REASONABLENESS ON THIS EMBATTLED SUBJECT.

5. EVEN SO, QUAI DOES AND CERTAINLY WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN OPPOSITION TO CSCE INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND OVER-AMBITIOUS WESTERN COORDINATION. FOR INSTANCE, IN SEVERAL RECENT CONVERSATIONS QUAI HAS STRESSED TO US THAT IT HAD NOT ENVISAGED STARTING COORDINATED

DISCUSSIONS FOCUSED ON 1977 FOLLOWUP CONFERENCE IN THE COMING MONTHS. THIS REFLECTS TRADITIONAL MINIMALIST FRENCH ATTITUDE TOWARD FOLLOWUP; AND CONCERN THAT OVER-ENERGETIC INITIATIVES PROBABLY WITH BLOC-TO-BLOC OVERTONES, COULD AT THIS STAGE BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IN MOSCOW, FOR REASONS SIMILAR TO THOSE CITED IN LONDON'U EXCELLENT 15477. MOREOVER THERE IS THE PRACTICAL CONSIDERATION THAT THE OLD FRENCH CSCE TEAM IS DISPERSING AND THAT MUCH SMALLER NEW QUAI OFFICE HAS NOT YET BEEN ESTABLISHED. FOR ALL THESE REASONS FRENCH OBJECT FOR NEXT MONTHS WILL BE TO PUT THEIR OWN CSCE PRIORITIES AND HOUSE IV BETTER ORDER.

6. EVEN SO, FROM US POINT OF VIEW, MODERATING PARIS ATTITUDE ON FOLLOWUP DOES OFFER OPPORTUNITIES FOR CONSTRUCTIVELY INFLUENCING FRENCH THINKING ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. IN THIS CONNECTION PLEASED TO NOTE THAT QUAI HAS ON SEVERAL RECENT OCCASIONS SHOWN INTEREST IN QUESTION OF US-FRENCH BILATERAL CSCE CONTACTS, AS FORESHADOWED FRENCH REMARK TO THIS EFFECT REPORTED IN NATO'S 5050. EMBOFFS WERE TOLD ON TWO RECENT OCCASIONS THAT QUAI WOULD WELCOME TAKING ADVANTAGE OF ASSURANCES US PROCEDURAL FLEXIBILITY REGARDING BILATERAL AS WELL AS MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS. QUAI IS THEREFORE PREPARED TO HAVE REGULAR, BUT WHOLLY INFORMAL, DISCREET AND UNSTRUCTURED CONSULTATIONS ON FOLLOWUP ISSUES OF INTEREST ON BILATERAL PLANE IN PARIS. QUAI STRESSED THAT SUCH CONTACTS WOULD NOT BE INTENDED CIRCUMVENT WORK GOING ON IN BRUSSELS, BUT MIGHT INVOLVE SPECIFIC TECHNICAL QUESTIONS AND EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS ON PLANS AND PERCEPTIONS US AND FRANCE MIGHT HAVE ON VARIOUS ASPECTS CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND

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COMPLIANCE.

7. COMMENT AND REQUEST FOR ACTION: PROPOSED INFORMAL AND REGULAR BILATERAL CSCE CONTACT IN PARIS WOULD OBVIOUSLY REQUIRE CAREFUL HANDLING TO ASSURE THAT IT DOES NOT UNDERCUT MAIN EFFORT IN NATO. ON OTHER HAND, WE BELIEVE ADVANTAGES OF ACCEPTING THIS IDEA CLEARLY OUTWEIGHT THE RISKS: FIRST, FRENCH SUGGESTION IS FURTHER INDICATION OF QUAI'S GENERALLY EVOLVING WILLINGNESS TO CONSULT WITH US BILATERALLY AND ON INFORMAL BASIS, A TREND WHICH WE SHOULD NOT REBUFF OR DISCOURAGE. MORE SPECIFICALLY (AND PARTLY BECAUSE OF QUAI'S LIMITED STAFF IN THIS FIELD) THIS MIGHT WELL BE VERY USEFUL OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP CONSTRUCTIVE BUT INFORMAL INFLUENCE ON FRENCH CSCE POSITION,

PARTIFULARLY IF WE CAN SUPPLY QUICK RESPONSES ON
TECHNICAL OR SUBSTANTIVE POINTS THEY MAY WISH TO
DISCUSS AND CAN PRESENT QUAI WITH WELL THOUGHT OUT
OBSERVATIONS OF OUR OWN. MOST IMPORTANTLY, SUCH
INFORMAL EXCHANGES SHOULD IN TIME PUT US IN IN-
CREASINGLY BETTER POSITION TO LEARN OF FRENCH THINKING
AND PLANS ON CSCE ISSUES BOTH IN BILATERAL
AND MULTILATERAL ARENA.

8. EMBASSY THEREFORE RECOMMENDS THAT IT BE AUTHORIZED,
IF POSSIBLE BY OCT 15, TO ACCEPT THIS OFFER ON
SAME TERMS IN WHICH IT WAS MADE. IF DEPARTMENT
CONCURS WE WOULD LIKE TO OPEN DISCUSSION FOR OUR
PART WITH REQUEST FOR DETAILED ACOUNT FRENCH CSCE
NEGOTIATIONS DURING GISCARD'S MOSCOW VISIT.

9. FOR SS: PLEASE REPEAT THIS MESSAGE AT YOUR
DISCRETION TO LONDON, MOSCOW, BONN AND USNATO.
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